1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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241 476 Mutual assistance is customary in working the soil, sowing the nursery beds, transplanting the seedlings, weeding, cutting the rice, binding it into sheaves, and taking the harvest home. It is usual that food is supplied during the period that mutual assistance is given. Sometimes the same group of persons is involved in the *sĕlisihan*, the mutual-assistance group, for the various tasks, but usually not, since the number of persons necessary is not the same for each sort of work. In the district of Nĕgara all agricultural work is done by *sĕlisihans*.

Frequently there is a complicated system such as is followed for the harvest associations of women, where dozens of women are sometimes united in one *sĕlisihan* working according to a carefully drafted plan. A quite accurate estimate is made of how many cutters will be needed in the course of one single day to cut the rice of a member of the *sĕlisihan*. In this way it is possible to divide the cutters over the various *sawahs* each day in an efficient way. It is figured that a workday ends about one hour before sunset; if the cutters on a certain *sawah* are through with their work much earlier, it is a sign that the estimate of the *sĕlisihan* was too high. The *sawah*-owner then receives a certain compensation in money for the excess food he has given. It is quite just that this indemnity should be given, the more so since the wife of the landholder has to give the same number of days of service as she has profited from.

When someone's crop is not completely harvested in one day he must hire a *sĕka* for the rest. The *sĕlisihan* is completely separate from the *subak* association, which serves only irrigation interests. Often the community unit, the *banjar*, serves as a basis for a *sĕlisihan;* in other cases relatives and acquaintances join together.

10

The Formation of New Subaks

467 312 474 Several new *subaks* have been created in recent times in the eastern part of the region of Jĕmbrana, where a beginning in clearing the forests was made only after the Dutch expeditions against southern Bali in 1906–1908. The landrent monograph referred

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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311 seven to the southwest of it. The names of those in the first group (followed in parentheses by the weir irrigating them) are Mĕkahang (Mĕkahang), Pĕndusan (Pĕndusan), Nungnungan Kĕlod (Nungnungan Kĕlod), Nungnungan Kaler (Nungnungan Kangin), Sangkawan (Sangkawan), Sangkanginan (Sangkawan), and Yeh Singa (Sangkawan). The names of those in the second group are Yeh Buah (Yeh Buah), Kiskis (Kiskis), Den Umah (Den Umah), Tĕlĕpas (Babitunu), Babitunu (Babitunu), Naga Sungsang (Naga Sungsang), and Umatĕgal (Naga Sungsang).

Six of the *chariks* are said to belong to the *desa:* Mĕkahang, Pĕndusan, Nungnungan, Yeh Buah, Kiskis, and Den Umah. Nungnungan and Yeh Buah consist entirely of offering *sawahs*, and the other four comprise the membership shares of the core villagers, unless some *sawahs* are not awarded because of the small number of eligible holders, in which case the surplus is added to the offering lands.

427 The *sawahs* are rented out on shares (*nyakap*) to the *sĕkahas pĕnya-*
311 *kap*. Sangkawan, for example, is rented to the *sĕkaha banjar* of Kĕstala, and Sangkanginan to the *sĕkaha pura dadia* of Kĕstala. This sharecropper's right can be withdrawn after the harvest (as has happened in the case of the *sĕkaha desa* of Gumung), hence the *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* has no permanent interest in the lands. For this reason it seldom makes any large-scale improvements in the irrigation works, and such improvements generally have to be financed by the *sĕkaha charik*. The tunnels in the village territory, for example, were built by people from Kĕstala and Gumung in return for wages.

241 The power in the *charik* is concentrated in the *sĕkaha toya*, whose
476 members are called *sinomans*. The administration consists of three
575 *klihans:* a *klihan sĕkaha* or *subak*, a *pĕnyarikan*, and a *saya*. This administration is assisted by two criers chosen from among the members in monthly rotation. The *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* rarely convenes its meetings in the irrigation-association temple or *bĕdugul*, which is considered as belonging to the ground; usually they are held in a temple of the members of the *sĕkaha*. The *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* of Sangkanginan, for example, meets on Saturday-Klion in the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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pura dadia. Members are not allowed to appoint delegates to the meetings. 241 476 575

The task of the *klihan sĕkaha* or *subak* consists of presiding over the assemblies. Before the meeting he starts a water clock, and he strikes the signal block when the meeting begins. Then he gives an account of his management of the finances by displaying the cash on hand, which must correspond to the balance in the *pĕnyarikan*'s books. If there is a shortage he must provide a pawn and pay at the rate of 'five per two hundred'. Next he announces the division of labour and charges the *saya* to inform the members of the decisions taken. Though elsewhere the *saya* is required to provide for the requisites of the meeting, in these meetings that is the task of the criers. If the waterworks are in need of small-scale repairs, the *subak* can appoint a part of the members to perform them, with a record being kept of the assignment.

The three *klihans* are together responsible for the weir, the conduits, and the system of ditches. They measure the water shares of the members with a bamboo cylinder. In dividing the water from a single weir over more than one *charik* the officials of the *chariks* concerned consult with each other. This is easier when the *chariks* involved have a joint *klihan sĕkaha*, as is the case for Sangkawan and Sangkanginan. There the *klihan* also has the task of seeing that both *chariks* get the water they need at the right time, since the Sangkawan weir moreover provides water to the irrigation association in the *desa* of Bungaya, which uses two-thirds of all the water from the weir. Only one-third goes to the two *chariks*, and that is not enough for the whole territory at the same time, so that Sangkawan obtains the water in the fourth month (Kapat) and Sangkanginan in the ninth month (Kasanga).

If the *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* is not able to undertake large-scale repairs on its weir by itself, it asks the assistance of the *sĕkaha charik*, which requests help from the whole *desa* if need be.

The three *klihans sĕkaha*, after having a favourable day determined for the beginning of planting, must set the example by starting planting themselves. Anyone who fails to give ear to the announcement to begin to plant is fined a hundred twenty-five

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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doits. The three *klihans* also direct the three important agrarian offerings: when the paddy is a month old, when it is almost ready to be harvested, and when the *nini*, the rice mother, is celebrated. The income of the *sĕkaha toya* consists primarily of fines, interest on money lent out, and *pĕngohot*. The monthly interest on money lent amounts to three doits per two hundred if a pawn is provided (to be sold if the money is not repaid), and six doits per two hundred when there is no such pawn. The *pĕngohot* is paid by members who use the irrigation water without helping to maintain the weir and the conduits. Since the *sĕkaha toya* is a voluntary association and *pĕnyakaps* are not obliged to become members, there are also people who have to pay for the use of water. This payment is made in rice, and amounts to twice the amount of paddy needed to seed the plot irrigated. The officials do not enjoy a larger share of the water, as they do elsewhere on Bali,[5] but only extra portions of the offering foods.

The task of the *klihans* of the *sĕkaha charik* consists merely of supervising the turning in of the shares of rice coming to the members of their associations. Their incomes consist of one sheaf of paddy per *tĕnah* (a unit of land planted from one handful of seedlings, roughly an acre) harvested, which sheaves are left in the field for them.

PATUS ASSOCIATIONS

The chief task of the southern Balinese *banjar* consists in the organization of cremations, with the members being required to perform certain services and make certain contributions (*patus*). In various parts of Karangasĕm, however, the term *patus* connotes all sorts of contributions, including those on such occasions as tooth-filing and marriage. In any number of Karangasĕm *banjars* persons who cremate their dead and persons who do not live mixed together, and in that case the cremation association is smaller than the *banjar* association. This is, for example, the case in the *banjar* of Pande. In the *banjar* of Kĕstala there is, besides the *banjar* association (which is also a *sĕkaha patus* in the broader sense), the *sĕkaha bĕdigul*, the cremation association, which supplements the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca, 1913-1958) 1960
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task of the *patus* association for members who cremate their dead. The members of the *desa* of Těnganan proper do not cremate their dead and have no *patus* association.

DRAMA AND MUSIC ASSOCIATIONS

The prohibition in the *desa* constitution has been an obstacle to the rise of drama and music associations. In earlier times the stipulation was considered as an absolute prohibition, but recently the idea has developed that such associations may be founded, though the *desa* considers them as non-existent and does not arbitrate in case of differences. In Western terms one might say that the *desa* refuses to recognize their corporate capacity. The associations arising on this basis lead a languishing existence in Těnganan.

In Kěstala the situation is quite the opposite. There the fact that the *bale kulkul* is a shed with a whole series of signal blocks is enough to indicate that there are a number of associations. Besides the *patus*, *bědigul*, and *pěnyakap* associations mentioned above, there are also several music associations, including a *sěkaha angklung*, which uses traditional bamboo instruments.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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The temple of Bĕsakih is considered by the Tĕngananese to be Bali's main sanctuary, and they often go there to fetch holy water, which is provided them by the *mangku gĕde*.

Relations with other villages have always been highly amicable, with a single exception when Sibĕtan invaded Tĕngananese territory some two centuries ago. The inhabitants of neighbouring villages often help to enliven Tĕngananese *adat* festivities. In particular the young people of Pasĕdahan are constantly in Tĕnganan during the month of Kalima, when they are allowed to make free use of the *desa* swings. The girls of Pasĕdahan, considered among the most beautiful on Bali, are in the swings day and night, letting the youths turn them round.

As a result of these friendly relations, when the *bale agung* in Tĕnganan caught fire in 1925 the people of the villages roundabout rushed to help, and the fire was quickly brought under control once the whole population of the large *desa* of Bugbug set itself to the task of tearing off the burning sugar-palm fibre from the roof.

Tĕnganan also enjoys the full cooperation of the neighbouring villages in juridical affairs, while it, in turn, often helps the villages around with irrigation water.

Religious ties are maintained with four villages, Ngis, Pĕkarangan, Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad, and Sibĕtan. In Kalima, the fifth month, the people of Tĕnganan, assisted by the village heads of Ngis, go collecting the *rampag* due from the latter village and Pĕkarangan. Pĕkarangan's *rampag* amounts to two hundred coconuts, and Ngis' to a thousand. On the ninth day of Kalima two persons from Ngis go to the *bale agung* at Tĕnganan to participate in the purification ceremony. They are treated to the feast, and are given rice and meat to take with them when they go back home in the evening. The people of Ngis also come to pray in the *pura puseh* in Tĕnganan, which was reputedly founded by Bĕgawan Enggong for both *desas*.[1] The people of Dauh Tukad, too, come to worship in various Tĕngananese temples. There is, moreover, a forest to the south of Ngis where the people of Tĕnganan may cut down trees for the *bale agung* and the *desa* temples.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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lately, in places frequented by tourists, people are beginning to ask for money as a return for a service. Ordinarily even a child would be scolded and shamed by anyone who heard him ask something from a stranger. A gift must be reciprocated and we were often embarrassed by the return presents of our poor neighbours. We gave Ktut Adi, a little dancer of eight, a scarf of no great value; one day soon after she came to us with a basket of rice, some eggs, and a live chicken, carried by her mother because the load was too great for her. Children of the neighbourhood that Rose had treated for infected wounds always came back with presents of fruit, cakes, or rice which they handed casually to our house-boy, never mentioning them to us, as if they wanted to avoid making a demonstration of their generosity. Even children have a strong sense of pride.

The aristocracy is despotic and arrogant, but the ordinary people, although used to acknowledging the superiority of their masters, are simple and natural in an unservile and unsubmissive way. By the threat of passive disobedience and boycott they kept the princes from overstepping their bounds. Europeans complain that the Balinese make bad servants; they are too free, too frank, and do not respond to the insolent manner that the white man has adopted as " the only way to deal with natives."

Their moral code consists in maintaining their traditional behaviour, observing their duties towards their fellow villagers and paying due respect to the local feudal princes. Among themselves they are kind and just, avoiding unnecessary quarrels and solving their disputes by the simplest and most direct methods.

The villages are organized into compact boards or councils, independent of other villages. Every married man — that is, every grown man — is a member of the council and is morally and physically obliged to co-operate for the welfare of the community. A man is assisted by his neighbours in every task he cannot perform alone; they help him willingly and as a matter of duty, not expecting any reward other than the knowledge that, were they in his case, he would help in the same manner. In this way

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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paid labour and the relation of boss to coolie are reduced to a minimum in Bali. Since the world of a Balinese is his community, he is anxious to prove his worth, for his own welfare is in direct relation to his social behaviour and his communal standing. Moral sanctions are regarded as stronger than physical punishment, and no one will risk the dreaded punishment of exile from the village, when a man is publicly declared "dead" to his community. Once "thrown away," he cannot be admitted into another of the co-operative villages, so no misfortune could be greater to the Balinese than public disgrace. This makes of every village a closely unified organism in which the communal policy is harmony and co-operation — a system that works to everybody's advantage.

By their ingenuity and constant activity they have raised their main occupation, the cultivation of rice, to levels unsurpassed by other rice-growing nations. Being essentially agriculturists, they are not interested in navigation and trade; living the easy life of the tropics, they are satisfied and well fed. The majority work the land for themselves, so they have not yet become wage-earners and have enough freedom and leisure left to dedicate to spiritual relaxation. They are extraordinarily fond of music, poetry, and dancing, which have produced a remarkable theatre. Their culture, unlike that of their cultural ancestors, the Javanese, is not yet in frank decline. Even the common people are better agriculturists, better craftsmen and artists than the average Javanese. The Balinese are by no means a primitive people.

Moreover, unlike the natives of the South Seas and similar races under white domination, the Balinese are not a dying people; far from that, in the last ten years a constant increase in the birth-rate has been recorded. The 1930 census gave the population of Bali as 1,148,000 people, or about 500 to the square mile, an enormous figure when compared with the 41 per square mile of the United States. This includes the foreign population: 7,935 Chinese, 1,544 Arabs and other Mohammedans, and 411 Europeans, of which only a small percentage are

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community and most especially acts that would weaken the village magic, such as temple vandalism, theft from the gods, arson, running amuck, and murder, some of which may be punished by the killing of the offender on the spot. Everybody has to report, armed, immediately upon the signal of alarm (the fast continuous beating of the large *kulkul*), to be ready to extinguish a fire or to stop a man that has gone temporarily insane and has run wild. In Den Pasar one afternoon the alarm call was sounded. It was the siesta hour, but instantly everybody was up and out; they grabbed sticks, spears, agricultural implements, or whatever was at hand and rushed out, some on bicycles, towards the sound of the *kulkul*. Everybody in the *bandjar* turned out and on the road we even met the old judge, our neighbour, who could hardly walk, but who tagged along brandishing a great sword. It turned out to be simply a fire that was quickly extinguished with everybody's aid. When the excitement was over, we returned home with the crowd, listening to their reminiscences of recent cases of alarm and of men who ran amuck and were killed on the spot. Desecration or theft of temple property, if at night, can also be punished with immediate death. One night in a village near Kesiman two men were caught in the act of robbing the temple. The alarm was sounded and the villagers killed the two men as they put up a fight. They showed us the weapons that were taken from the thieves.

Other serious offences are the consistent failure to perform village duties, disobedience to officials, refusal to pay fines, repeated absence from meetings, theft of village property, especially of legal village documents, adultery, incest, bestiality, rape of an immature girl, witchery, the cutting of certain trees, theft of irrigation water, or damage to another's property, like allowing cattle to trample a planted field. Crimes against the prince, or even against Brahmanas, are severely punished, but they do not affect the spiritual cleanliness of the village — one more instance of the position of the aristocracy as outsiders. An old man told us that in former times a prince might kill or mutilate a man for

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621 771 Rather than a sectarian Church system, separate from the daily life and in the hands of a hierarchy of priests to control and exploit the people, the religion of Bali is a set of rules of behaviour, a mode of life. The resourceful Balinese fitted their religious system into their social life and made it the law (*adat*) by which the supernatural forces are brought under control by the harmonious co-operation of everyone in the community to strengthen the magic health of the village. Like a human being, the community possesses a life power that wears away and must be fed by the regular performances of magic acts of the "right," the side of righteousness. The life power is seriously impaired by the magic evil, that of the "left," or by the polluting effects of sickness and death. Bestiality, incest, suicide, and temple vandalism are among the acts of individuals that would make the entire village *sebel*, or magically weak. The spiritual health is also undermined by the gradual predominance of evil forces, the demons and witches that haunt the village. Some of these are easily disposed of, but the main concern of the Balinese [769] centres in the propitiation of the protecting ancestors who descend to this earth on special holidays and at the anniversaries of the innumerable temples, when they receive offerings and entertainment from the people. By these ceremonies and temple festivals the populace hopes to entice the spirits to remain among them; the beauty of the offerings, the pleasant music, the elaborate theatrical performances, aim to keep them from growing bored and leaving.

476 621 771 Motivated by this background of religious beliefs, the Balinese found it necessary to establish a system of communal co-operation to provide for the magnificent festivals that are such an important part of their life. The spirit of co-operation soon extended to their personal and economic life and developed into a primitive agrarian commune in which every village was a socially and politically independent little republic, with every citizen enjoying equal rights and obligations. These villages

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were ruled by councils of village members and officials who governed as representatives of the ancestral spirits. Since the land, source of all wealth, also belonged to the ancestors, individual ownership of land was not recognized, and it is remarkable, but typical, that the village officials still govern as a duty to the community and without remuneration.

Furthermore, the Balinese have been extremely liberal in matters of religion. Every time a new idea was introduced into the island, instead of repudiating it, they took it for what it was worth and, if they found it interesting enough, assimilated it into their religion, since no one knew what power there might be in the new gods. In this manner, from all the sects and cults that at one time or another reached the island, they selected anew the principles that best suited their own ideas and accumulated a vast store of religious power. Buddha became to them the younger brother of Siva, and if the efforts of the Christian missionaries who are attempting to convert the Balinese succeed, it is not unlikely that in the future "Sanghyang Widi," the exalted name that the missionaries have adopted for Jesus, will become a first cousin of Siva and Buddha and will enjoy offerings and a shrine where he can rest when he chooses to visit Bali.

TEMPLES AND TEMPLE FEASTS

The temple is certainly the most important institution on the island and the clearest illustration of the spirit of the Balinese religion. There are temples everywhere, from the modest family shrines in every household, to the extravagant temples of the princes and great town temples; large or small, plain or richly carved temples found in the ricefields, in the cemeteries, in the markets, on the beaches, in caves, among the tangle of gnarled roots of old *waringins*, on deserted hill tops and even on the barren rocks along the coastline.

When we discovered that the Balinese did not seem to mind

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

On the twelfth day after the birth of the twins the ceremony *nyambutin* was celebrated in the *kubu*. After *nyambutin* in Sukawanã the usual child and his parents are sufficiently purified to be allowed to enter the temples. Although for the family of I Lèwèr there still remained thirty days of exile, during which they might not even enter the village, much less the temples, still these small offerings had to be made according to custom.

During the last days the men of the village were busy at the *kubu* cutting trees into blocks for the chopping of the meat offerings, weaving rough trays of split bamboo, preparing skewers and sharpening knives for the feast. It is a part of the custom that the villagers must not only contribute to the offerings but lend their indispensable aid in the making of them, for it is an array such as no single family could prepare alone. In return they are treated to a feast at the expense of the father of the twins. In the houses of I Lèwèr's erstwhile neighbors the materials were collected. Each man sent his share, according to his means. If a rich man should send a poor contribution, he would be too ashamed! The women cooked the rice and formed it into little cones, and into cakes of varied shapes and colors, and of sugar and riceflour they made still other dainties for the gods and for the demons. They wove plates of palm-leaf, and decorative fanshaped, circular, and trailing *sampéans* as top-pieces for the offerings, all of the young yellow leaf cut with a knife in strong simple design. The part of the men is the killing and preparation of the animal offerings. On the day before the ceremony they killed the water-buffalo, skinned it, and cut and cooked the meat in various ways. The next morning the calf, pig, goat, goose, ducks, chickens, and the three-colored dog ('red', black and white) were killed and made ready. At eleven o'clock in the morning I Lèwèr's neighbors were still busy finishing the last dozens of palm-leaf decorations necessary for the offerings. When all was done the splendid array was laid out upon the bare ground where I Lèwèr's house had stood, and they were enough to completely

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

wealth as well as their caste. The *mĕcharu* given for twins born in Tĕgĕs Kawan and in Kutri included, as animal offerings, only five chickens, a duck, a pig, and a dog, and the other offerings were correspondingly less than those used in Sukawană, for instance, where a buffalo, a calf, a goat, and a goose had to be offered as well as the less expensive beasts. But to say that in Tĕgĕs Kawan and in Kutri the *mĕcharu* for *manak salah* comprises only offerings of five chickens, a duck, a pig and a dog, would be incorrect, for twins might conceivably be born to a family there which considered itself sufficiently "high" to give one of the more elaborate *charu*.

In connection with this it may be noted that whereas in the old villages the members of the Balé Agung are generally required to contribute to the ceremonies, upon each man falling the burden of his share, it is more customary for the father of the twins to go begging from door to door, receiving contributions which may not amount to more than a cent per household. In many districts he begs not only in his own Balé Agung but in three, seven, ten, or eleven nearby Balé Agung's, until he has collected the necessary funds. It is said that he may not be refused, no matter how small the contribution. The origin of this custom is probably that in former times the entire *nĕgară*, the kingdom ruled by a certain Rajă, was rendered *sĕbĕl* by the birth of boy and girl twins in one of its villages (so I was told by Chokordă Anom of the ruling house of Klungkung). The lontars say such twins *ngĕlĕtĕhin jagat*, or *bumi*, or *nĕgară*. This can be translated „to make unclean the country", and originally must have meant the whole kingdom, although now it is interpreted to mean a single Balé Agung. But the custom remains of asking contributions in a number of surrounding Balé Agung's, as a leftover of their participation in the *sĕbĕl* state in former times. Today not more than a single Balé Agung is considered *sĕbĕl*, and sometimes only the *banjar* (one of the village groups which make up the Balé Agung) in which the birth of the twins occurred.

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out on the ground, together with offerings *sorohan agung* and *bayang-bayang*, all to be set out on the ground facing south, to be offered up to the gods of the sea and of the earth (*pĕrtiwi*). And one white goose, skinned and spread out with offerings *sorohan agung* are placed in the *sanggar tawang* (bamboo altar) for Batarā Suryā (sun). One female black goat, a duck *bĕlang kalung*, chickens of five colors (*manchā warnā*) are placed according to the five colors, white to the East, red to the South, yellow to the West, black to the North, and many-colored in the center, together with *sorohan panchā* to be offered to these gods: Iswarā, Brahmā, Mahadéwā, Wisnu and Siwā. After this to the *butā-butā*, the demons. Then one full-grown black pig skinned and spread out with *sorohan agung*, *bĕbangkit*, *suchi*, and all the various offerings which must accompany it, are placed in the *panggungan* to be offered to Batarā . . . . . (the god of the temple). During this time Batarā Sakti Bujanggā is invited to descend, to be present before the temple where the holy water is asked for. The *balian konèng* performs the ceremony called *ngantĕb*, (to deliver the essence of) these offerings.

As soon as the *ngantĕb* is over the people with twins receive holy water, and their house is also burned on the spot. Then they may return to the village, for their uncleanness (*sĕbĕl*) is erased.

Three days after this, the *kramā dĕsā* (group of villagers) must *mĕlis*, following all the gods to be purified. The entire *kramā gĕbog satak* (200) go to *mĕlis*. The reception of the gods on their return and the putting them away is the same as was described above for marriages against the adat.

As regards the expenses of all the ceremonies, it is said that they are evenly divided, half to fall on the *kramā dĕsā* and half on the people with twins.

So much for Bu'ungan. In Lumbuan, the other old village whose adat is covered in the *Bhawanagara* report, if *anak kĕmbar*, twins of like sex, are born, the ceremony *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah* is the same as that required in cases of *salah pati*, when a man hangs himself. Although for the suicide the house must be taken down and burned at the graveyard,

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

other in an almost urban fashion so as to conserve rice-land in the face of tremendously dense and growing population.[5] Within such clusters the basic territorial political unit is the hamlet, or *bandjar*. Bandjar, which may or may not be spatially isolated, depending upon the size of the settlement, contain anywhere from a dozen to several hundred nuclear families, averaging perhaps about eighty or ninety. In most parts of Bali, the bandjar may be rather simply defined as all those people subject to the decisions taken in one hamlet meeting house, or *balé bandjar*. Bandjar meetings of all male household heads are usually held in this balé once in a 35-day Balinese month, at which time all important policy decisions for the hamlet as a corporate unit are made, mainly by means of a "sense of the meeting" universal agreement process. As the temple is the focus of the religious community, so the meeting house—a wall-less, peaked-roof, Polynesian-looking structure usually located in the center of the hamlet—is the focus of the political community.[6]

To the bandjar are allocated the sort of general governmental and legal functions common to peasant communities in most parts of the world. It is responsible for local security, for the legitimation of marriage and divorce and the settlement of inheritance disputes, and for the maintenance of public works such as rural roads, the meeting house, and the local market sheds and cockpit. Commonly it will own a gamelan orchestra and perhaps dancing costumes and masks as well. As in many, but not all parts of Bali, house-land is corporately owned by the bandjar as a whole, the hamlet also may regulate the distribution of dwelling places, and so control immigration. For serious crimes it may even expel members, confiscating their house-land and denying them all local political rights—for the Balinese the severest of social sanctions.

The hamlet also has significant tax powers. It may fine people for infractions of local custom, can demand contributions for public entertainments, repairs to civic structures, or social welfare activities more or less at will, and can exercise the right to harvest all rice land owned by bandjar members—the members as a whole acting as the harvesters—for a customary share of the product. Consequently, most bandjar have sizeable treasuries and may even own rice land, purchased out of income, the proceeds of which are also directed to public purposes. Nowadays, a few bandjar even own trucks or buses, others help finance local schools, yet others erect cooperative coffee shops.

Finally, the bandjar also acts as a communal work group for certain ritual purposes, especially for cremations, which, along with temple festivals, are still the most important ceremonies in Bali, although their size and frequency have been reduced somewhat in the years since the war. When an individual family decides to cremate, all members of the bandjar are obligated to make customary contributions in kind and to work preparing the offerings, food, and paraphernalia demanded for as long as a month in advance. Similar cooperation, but of lesser degree, is often enjoined for other rites of passage, such as tooth filing, marriage, and death. The bandjar is thus at once a legal, fiscal, and ceremonial unit, providing perhaps the most intensely valued framework for peasant solidarity.

The heads of the hamlet are called *klian*, literally "elder." In some bandjar

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

621 which the name village can be properly applied, while the perbekelan as a
634 whole forms only the vaguest of social units. The three villages concerned are Pau, Penasan, and Tihingan proper (the seat of the Perbekel which, consequently, lends its name to the entire perbekelan). We shall be concerned here only with Tihingan proper.

Tihingan proper consists of a single hamlet of some 138 kitchens grouped into 85 house-compounds, and there is but one set of Kahyangan-Tiga temples
[794] to which all members of the hamlet belong, a rather untypically simple arrangement. There is a Brahmana priest living in the village, and there is a
[564] scattering of low-title Satria and Vesia families, but almost 90 percent of the
621 population is Sudra. From the structural point of view, however, the most
614 striking characteristic of Tihingan is neither its territorial pattern nor its status system, but the rather unusual importance of kinship as an organizational force in social life. It is the four dadia, accounting for nearly 80 percent of the village population, which form the axis around which Tihingan village life mainly revolves; and the implications of this simple fact can be traced through all the levels of its social organization. On the religious level, each major dadia
[794] owns a very large, handsomely carved temple (in the case of the two largest dadia, even larger and more handsomely carved than the theoretically superordinate Kahyangan-Tiga temples) near the center of the village. The upkeep of this temple and the carrying out of the requisite semi-annual ceremonies within it in suitable style are among the major functions of the dadia, and rivalries in those matters can become quite intense.

At the political level, the distribution of hamlet leadership roles is con-
[623] sciously and carefully designed to provide a realistic reflection of the balance of
[634] dadia power. There are five klian or chiefs. Four of these are chosen, one from each of the major dadia; the fifth klian at the same time holds the office of Pengliman and is a member of the second largest dadia. Since the Perbekel himself, a man of some weight within Tihingan proper, is a member of the largest dadia, the kin group foundation for local leadership is clear and exact. Further, in supra-village political processes, institutionalized in the party system of the "New Indonesia," the two largest kin groups are allied as a faction
[665] against the next two plus all the families not belonging to a dadia. All of the first group belong to the Socialist party and all of the second to the Nationalist, so that party allegiance is absolutely predictable from kin group membership, and reflects the internal organization of the village rather than personal ideological conviction.

On the economic level, each dadia forms a cooperative work group for the
621 manufacture of Balinese musical instruments—metallaphones, gongs, cymbals,
614 etc.—a smithing craft in which this village is partially specialized; the personnel working in any given forge almost inevitably are members of the same
476 dadia.[12] Further, most tenancy and exchange work patterns in rice field cultivation also follow kin group lines, introducing these alliances into the irriga-
[326] tion society context as well. More informal economic relationships—money
[243] lending, patronage, and so on—follow the same pattern.

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

Finally, even informal recreational interaction is shaped by extended kinship ties. It is only rarely that a man will enter the house-compound of a non-kinsman after nightfall when the most intensive gossiping takes place, though he will move freely among the yards of his dadia members. (A somewhat more consistent and literal adherence to the virilocal ideal in Tihingan than is common elsewhere means that house compounds of the same dadia tend to be fairly well clustered within the hamlet.) In cock fighting, a great part of the pattern of alliance and opposition—whose cock fights whose, who bets against whom, — is only explicable in kinship terms. In religion, politics, economics, and informal social interaction, kin group membership therefore has a primacy in Tihingan which, though it is far from representing a universal pattern in Bali, is, like Njalian's lattice-work structure, a realized example of one possibility intrinsic in the intersecting plane type of village organization.

In this type of village organization the dangers of factionalism are obvious and the problem of containing kin group loyalties within the bounds of affiliation in hamlet, irrigation society, temple group, and so on becomes acute. Public activities are often marked by partially concealed kin group antagonisms. For example, when the hereditary priest of the origin and death temples died without an heir ten years ago, the kin groups could not agree on his successor so that responsibility for the ceremonies in these temples now rotates among the priests of the four dadia temples - a highly unsatisfactory and irregular pattern that the people themselves regard as "not quite right, but better than having an open war." At hamlet meetings in the balé the sort of universal agreement necessary to make decisions is difficult to accomplish, so that many proposals are blocked by the opposition of a minority kin group. For example, when the Perbekel tried to convince the hamlet to change funeral customs so as to bury people immediately, even on an unlucky day, rather than keep the corpse in the house for several days (a government-suggested health reform that the neighboring bandjar had adopted with little difficulty) the opposition of the dadia most hostile to the Perbekel's prevented the change from taking place, although the majority of villagers were in favor of it. Antagonisms arising out of marriages and divorces across dadia lines, economic rivalries between the musical instrument manufacturing groups, and competitive prestige displays at dadia temple ceremonies also contributed to the heightening of this sort of intergroup tension.

Yet in general, the village is fairly well integrated and factionalization is usually kept within bounds.[11] In part this is accomplished by the concurrent application of two explicit rules of procedure. The first rule is that whenever a group formed on the basis of one principle of affiliation is allocated a given social function, no other principle of affiliation may receive any recognition whatsoever. Thus if the hamlet is cooperating in some task, the work is never suborganized in terms of kinship, caste, or any other bond. If subgroups are technically necessary, people are grouped in a random manner, each family being regarded as a hamlet member pure and simple, as having no qualitative difference from any other. ("The hamlet knows no kinship," runs a Balinese

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

proverb.) Similarly, when a dadia is working at a temple festival, or whatever, the sub-dadia ties within the dadia are considered to have no reality and do not act as a basis for subgroup differentiation.

The second rule sets forth a hierarchy of precedence in which the needs of the hamlet outrank those of the dadia, those of the dadia outrank those of the sub-dadia, and those of the sub-dadia outrank those of voluntary groups. For example, if the hamlet as a whole wishes to harvest the fields of its members, then it has priority. The whole banjar must harvest and does so as a group, with no internal differentiation. If the hamlet doesn't wish to harvest—per decision of the hamlet meeting—then the dadia have next rights, unaffiliated families either banding together or yielding their rights to one or another of the dadia. If the dadia also decides not to harvest, then the sub-dadia may; if the sub-dadia have no immediate needs then the task is surrendered to voluntary groups. The combination of these two rules of procedure—one prohibiting multiple bases of affiliation for a single task, one establishing an order of precedence—acts as a major integrative mechanism in this otherwise rather faction-prone village.

3. *Blaju.* Unlike Njalian, Blaju is not the name of a perbekelan, and unlike Tihingan, it is not the name of a fairly well defined village unit within a perbekelan. Rather, it is the name for a broadly defined region of about six square miles at the eastern edge of the Regency of Tabanan within which the influence of a particular ruling family was preponderant in the pre-Colonial period and to a great extent continues so today. As such, Blaju forms a minuscule state within a state, and its pattern of organization is characterized primarily by a stress on territoriality and caste (or title) as bases for social affiliation. Perhaps more than any other area of Bali, Blaju approaches the common stereotype of peasant social structure as being organized in terms of a pyramid of increasingly inclusive territorial units—barrios, villages, subdistricts, districts, and the like—each unit ruled by an attached political official of appropriate status. But, unfortunately for the sort of theory which would like to see in this system a survival of an "original" Balinese pattern from which all else could be adjudged a "deviation," this hierarchical territorialization is a quite recent phenomenon, occurring as a consciously motivated social innovation explicitly designed to intensify social integration.

The area commonly denominated as Blaju contains four perbekelan, three contiguous, one a kilometer or so to the north. The members of these four perbekelan—about 1500 kitchens—support a common set of Kahyangan-Tiga temples, a rather unusual circumstance, for commonly Kahyangan-Tiga congregations are usually smaller and are less extensive than a perbekelan. Within each of these perbekelan there are four hamlets, and each of these hamlets is further divided into from three to six territorial subunits called *kliran*. A kliran has arbitrarily fixed borders and each adult living within these borders is ipso facto a member of that kliran. It is the kliran, averaging eighteen to twenty kitchens, which performs most of the important day-to-day social functions, and it is the basic cooperative work unit in planting-harvesting, ritual, and the

64 [103 cont.]
174 on agricultural products, especially rice and coconuts, and the
651 best of these products had to be presented to him.

Soebak. Bali, a land where sawah cultivation is of the
634 greatest importance and where the inhabitants are therefore
312 greatly concerned about having a regular supply of irrigation
476 water, is also a land where a peculiar native jurisdictional community has developed, the Balinese polder, soebak. It is true that this is very closely connected with agriculture and thus could be dealt with in the chapter on "Means of Subsistence," but because of its special importance for Balinese society and because it is a special form of jurisdictional community, we will discuss it in this chapter as a more suitable place.

The soebak is formed when new land is opened up, with the aim of procuring for the owners of small holdings the advantages that large sawah holdings have (with regard to irrigation water). This form of co-operation in no way diminishes the rights of ownership of the small holders. The soebak, then, is an association of all the cultivators whose sawahs can be irrigated from one aqueduct, with the aim of building and caring for the upkeep of the aqueduct and also of regulating, through mutual consultations, the other agricultural operations. One soebak may embrace several dèsa, and in large dèsa there may be more than one soebak.

At the head of a soebak is the klian soebak, chosen by all the members who make up the sekaha soebak. He keeps a list of the members and is charged with governing sawah operations in consultation with the members. Once it has been decided
[685 when the rice is to be planted, he must see to it that this actu-
627] ally is done. He must also be on guard against water thieves. He tries to settle amicably the questions that arise among the members of the soebak.

[623] When matters warrant it, the klian calls a meeting. Usually the meetings take place on a definite day of the month (35 days), sometimes at each [104] full moon. At first these meetings are held in the open, later in the newly built soebak temple.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBI Indonesia OBI
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by sections of families, the community and village remain the basis of mutual aid.

C. ASSOCIATIONS

1. *Cooperative societies.*—We now come to grips with a different principle, whereby persons break loose from the ordinary communal area within which mutual aid is given. Groups, which have the tendency of acting as independent units in intervillage relations, are formed with an eye to reciprocal exchange of services and goods. The more villages or other communities tend to be lax in communal endeavor, and the more individuals wish to range beyond the village in their activities, the more does the tendency to form associations assert itself. There are frequently special interests, which are met in a variety of forms of associational cooperation.

A specimen of this is the technique of loaning money called *bwe*, a form of credit union apparently borrowed from the Chinese. A number of persons pay in a definite sum each month, and each of them may use the total amount in turn ("sarikat" in Batavia, "jula jula" in Minangkabau, "mohaqka" on the island of Salayar). The associations for the slaughter of water-buffalo among the Atjeh are another example. So are the so-called burial societies that are widely distributed all over Java.

The Minahasans speak of "mapalus" societies. This word has two meanings. It refers to reciprocal assistance and to various groups formed for such purposes as cooperative aid in agriculture. This agricultural service is not only rendered to each other by the members in reciprocity, but can also be extended to outsiders for pay. Credit unions are known as "mapalus wang."

The best-known and most developed form of independent associations are those of Bali, whose interests are commercial. The Balinese "sakaha" may have two meanings, just as "mapalus" in Minahasa. It can apply to a group, which has certain primary functions to fulfill within the village and which may in addition, sometimes but by no means always, attain a degree of independence as a "society," such as the "banjar," or youths' association. Or, it can apply to an association voluntarily established outside of the desa connection for digging tunnels, harvesting fields, loaning money and giving musical performances.

We have previously noted (p. 71) the famous irrigation communities (the "subak" of Bali) with their economic basis in the possession of land and with their more or less public character.